

OCTOBER 1923

Labor Age

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WISCONSIN

and the COMING CONGRESS

HOME OF LAFOLLETTE and THE SOCIALISTS

Labor Age

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|--|
| WISCONSIN AND THE NEXT CONGRESS..... | Preface |
| HOME OF LAFOLLETTE AND THE SOCIALISTS | |
| | Louis F. Budenz... 1 |
| THE "PROGRESSIVES" AT HOME | |
| | Thomas M. Duncan & Herman O. Kent 4 |
| A BANK OF THE COMMON FOLKS | |
| | Frank B. Metcalfe. 7 |
| THE LEADER AMONG LABOR DAILIES | |
| | John M. Work.... 9 |
| AMERICAN LABOR AT PORTLAND..... | 12 |
| "FIGHTING BOB" (sketch).... | L. S. Chumley..... 13 |
| "A BAR TO PROGRESS" (cartoon) | |
| | J. F. Anderson.... 14 |
| A STUDY IN SCARLET..... | Labor Press..... 15 |
| A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF EUROPEAN WORKERS' EDUCATION | A. J. Muste..... 18 |
| MANLY PRIDE..... | Prince Hopkins.... 21 |
| LABOR HISTORY IN THE MAKING..... | 23 |

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Wisconsin and The Next Congress

WISCONSIN stands out boldly in the present-day political spotlight. It occupies its old challenging position to the powers-that-be.

By the verdict of the Western farmers and workers in the last election, the People's Bloc has risen to power at the Capitol. Its representatives in House and Senate form a wedge between the "regular" Republicans and the "regular" Democrats. Neither organization can accomplish much without the consent of this Progressive group.

At the head of this band of dissenters, by the logic of events, stands the Wisconsin delegation. Their leaders have kept alike the "fight against Monopoly," which for a time seemed almost to go down in the wave of Reaction. They have picked up the threads of the old Granger movement, and have blown on the dying coals of farmer revolt until these have burst forth again in the Nonpartisan League and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. LaFollette in the Senate and Nelson in the House come from the same county, with Madison as its seat, and have fought side by side for years.

Not only the farmers of the Northwest, but the organized workers also, have looked to "Fighting Bob" and his colleagues as their representatives against the "Wall Street Bloc." The railroad unions have rallied to the LaFollette standard as they have never rallied to any man politically before. They have found him in the Senate always alert to present their view, and to show the folly of the present railroad policy.

The answer to the question, "What can be expected of the People's Bloc, so far as the workers are concerned?" can therefore best be answered by going to Wisconsin and learning what it all means from there.

The Socialists of the Badger State can help us in finding the answer. They have built up a unique movement in Milwaukee, which has withstood the test of time better than any Socialist organization. They have the only fully successful English labor daily in these United States. They have steadily returned the editor of that paper, Victor Berger, to Congress, even when the Government sought to prevent them. They occupy much the same position in the Wisconsin Legislature as the LaFollette group in the National Congress.

The "Progressives" and Farmer-Laborites led by LaFollette will go about as far in their program as the workers and farmers want them to go. Some of them, like Governor Blaine, will fall by the wayside. That has occurred in the LaFollette camp before. Men have deserted him, but he has always come up fighting. His one great weakness—if it is a weakness—is that he has not developed a particular political philosophy. But that also is the attitude of the American West, which has followed him.

The People's Bloc will lay the foundations in the next Congress for government ownership of utilities. They will take up the fight against the Esch-Cummins Bill and against the extension of monopoly. If they do not go further, it will be because they feel that the advanced wings of the Farmer-Labor Movement are not ready to make greater headway. That is the whole basis of their action—to fight for the people as the people want the fight conducted. Whether such a program has any chance for permanent life can best be judged by these stories of Wisconsin and its Farmer-Labor Movement. It is the story, in part, of the fourth big upheaval of the American farmers—in which, this time, they have made common cause with the workers of the cities.

Labor Age



Badgerdom

The Home of La Follette and the Socialists

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

WHERE THE
"PROGRESSIVES"
CONTROL



And Where
the Socialists
Play the Part
of the
National Progressive
Bloc

WHEN Calvin Coolidge rises to read his presidential message to the forthcoming Congress, he will face an interesting study in geography.

His own forces—those of Reaction and Monopoly—will have at their head men from his own state of Massachusetts. Lodge will be at the helm of the "regulars" in the Senate and Gillette in the House. Weeks will occupy a commanding position in the Cabinet.

Over against them will stand, as a party of opposition, not the Democrats, but that little band known as the "Progressives." The Farmer-Labor wave of the West has again put them into power—new faces in the main, but representing the same sections that have sent "Progressives" to Congress for the last 50 years. A motley group, partisanly speaking—Democrats and Republicans and Farmer-Laborites, products of the Non-Partisan League and other

Farmer-Labor alliances. As the captains of their phalanx, appear those veteran fighters for the workers and the farmers—Robert M. LaFollette in the Senate and John M. Nelson in the House, both "gentlemen from Wisconsin."

It is not mere accident that has led to this geographical alignment—at least, so far as Wisconsin is concerned. For 25 years the little figure of "Battling Bob" LaFollette has cast a huge shadow over the Badger State, to send shivers of fright down the spines of railroad magnates, coal operators and other wealthy malefactors. The youthful Congressman from Dane County, who threw down the gauntlet to the Wisconsin political machines over a quarter of a century ago, has never lagged in his warfare against "the evils of monopoly." His "winning of Wisconsin" and his holding of Wisconsin make the most interesting political epic in the history of this country.

(Why is This the OCTOBER Number? See Page 28.)

"LaFollette Forever!"

While other states have gone up and down on spasmodic swells of "Progressive" revolt, Wisconsin has steadily stood by her fighting Senator. His enemies might come and his enemies might go, doublecrossers might desert him, but LaFollette personally went on in power forever. When the new big discontent arose in the Dakotas and in Minnesota, he was stronger in his own state than ever he had been before. To him the Farmer-Labor Movement naturally looked for leadership.

The explanation can easily be found in going to Wisconsin. It takes but little time to learn the reason for the triumph of the Progressives there, and to get an insight into the possibilities of action by the Progressives in the next Congress. "What will they do? How far will they go?" Wisconsin can supply the answer.

The Farmers vs. the Railroads

Farming is the chief industry of the state. Anything that affects the farmer vitally, affects the life of the state. From the Apostle Islands and the tip of Door County to Dubuque and Kenosha, the chief matter of concern is the welfare of the tillers of the soil.

High railroad rates and faulty railroad transportation and grain elevators allied with the railroad and other interests are not conducive to that welfare. The Badger farmers understand that thoroughly. Talk to a cherry grower around Sturgeon Bay, or to a dairyman in Portage or Sauk Counties, or to a cereal producer around Madison, and you will find one and all well versed in the iniquities of the railroad system. "How can we live and farm for city folks to live, if the returns of our labor are eaten up by transportation costs, grain elevators and packing combines? The farmer gets but 2 or 3 per cent return from the 100 per cent he produces. It means ruin for us, and for everyone depending on the food that comes from our land." That is the invariable argument. And it is the truth.

Indelible Mark of the "Grange"

The first great revolt of the American farmers, back in the sixties, spread like wild fire through Wisconsin and made an indelible mark on the state. The Order of the Patrons of Husbandry—or the Grange, as it became more widely known—had some of its most active local chapters there. Old Grangers and sons of former

Grangers are scattered everywhere, and the old "Grange laws" which first sought to control railroad rates and railroad finances are looked upon as a new declaration of American independence—from the grip of the "King of Monopoly," as Senator Sherman put it.

Though the Grange died a top-heavy death, from its unhappy cooperative enterprises, its spirit thus lived on. LaFollette took up the battle personally, where it had left off. He came from an agricultural county, and it was to the farmers that he went in his fights for the District Attorneyship and the seat in Congress. It was to them that he appealed on the state-wide basis in his races for the Governorship. He fought monopoly in their name, and restored the "Grange laws" which had been repealed. He went to the United States Senate as their champion, and there became the champion of the city workers also, whom he found faced with the same enemy as the workers on the farms. He put through the Seamen's Act and the shorter work-day for the rail workers, the latter of which groups swears by his name. The transportation workers stood with him almost to a man in his last overwhelming victory.

LaFollette and his followers as direct descendants of the Grange Movement is an important thing for remembrance. It explains much of his philosophy. It explains incidentally, why Magnus Johnson was a disappointment on first sight to the radicals of New York. The Grangers always disclaimed "communism" or "agarianism" as their aim. They were not the "enemies of the railroads," but wished to curb them and control them. They were satisfied to make headway against Monopoly—aggressively, but step by step. LaFollette and the Progressives have likewise always been champions of "control." Cooperative ownership of railroads and other monopolies might be necessary, but only after control had proved a failure. They have never put public ownership forth as a sweeping national program, even in the "radical" platforms which the Wisconsin delegation submitted to the 1916 and 1920 Republican conventions.

"Cooperative Ownership"

Admiring LaFollette personally, the Socialists of the state have quarrelled with this "temporizing" policy. They charge that "it does not get anywhere," that it does not build up a concerted Movement against Monopoly, but merely puts men in office, many of whom fall down when a

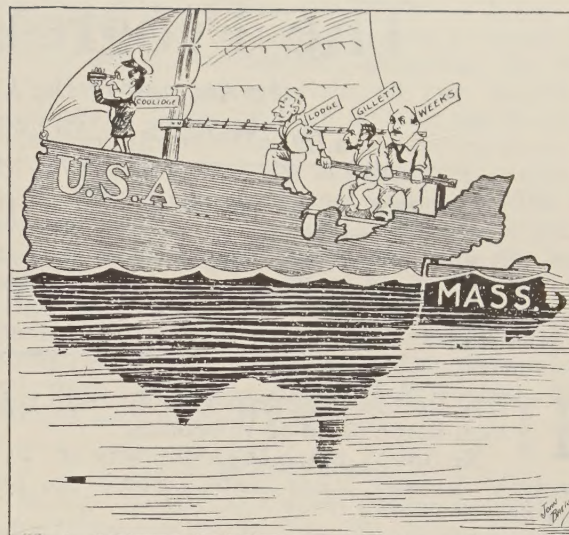
crisis comes. Milwaukee is their stronghold, and they represent a considerable block of city workers. Their delegation in the state legislature is of sufficient size to command respect, and to form a decided influence in the "bloc" of Socialists and Farm-Labor followers of LaFollette.

Association with the Socialists has also moved the farmers along a bit in their views of cooperative ownership of the railroads. It may strengthen the hand of LaFollette in the next Congress, should he decide upon a public ownership program for the railroads and the mines. Voluntary cooperation exists on a large scale in the cheese making industry, in which Wisconsin is by far the leader. Over 700 cheese factories are cooperative, out of a total of some 925 such cooperative factories in the country as a whole. Interestingly enough, it is in this industry that farmers' cooperation first arose in America—and Wisconsin itself was the scene of this beginning. That this voluntary cooperation in marketing, purchasing and manufacturing is linked up with a cooperative, public ownership of the transportation system is dawning upon the Badger farmers. They are beginning to understand that the troubles from which they suffer can never be met until they and the workers own these systems of transportation, over which the food and goods pass from the one group to the other.

The Socialists also have driven this idea home among the workers, in their successful campaigns for control of Milwaukee and the Milwaukee delegation to the legislature. It has taken hold among many workers outside the Socialist camp. The rail unions still put their faith, perhaps a bit vaguely, in the Plumb Plan for the three-party management of the publicly owned railroad system. To farmers and workers, therefore, a move, aggressive and definite, toward cooperative ownership of the rails would be hailed with delight.

Those 300,000

By a margin of 300,000 votes was LaFollette swept into another term of 6 years last fall. These were not all votes consciously committed to public ownership of transportation. They were votes stirred by his courage, his personality, "his fight on Monopoly," his stand against the war. But it is safe to say—and any one going to Wisconsin will come away saying that—that there were but few of that great number of votes opposed to public ownership. The Socialist vote, which went to him en masse, was



THE RUDDER

(As "Labor" Sees the Ship of State.)

definitely public ownership. Even the Hearst newspaper support is a public ownership support on the rail issue.

In the national arena, at the same time, the logical thing for the Progressives to do—if they are to be effective—seems, to declare for three-party control of the railroads. The repeal of the Esch-Cummins law is a definite part of their program. A fight for a just valuation is another. But the Interstate Commerce Commission seems determined to defeat any hope for a fair valuation, at least for the time being, and the railway interests will probably allow the repeal or amendment of the Esch-Cummins law if they can gain the consolidation of lines, of which we now hear so much. The cry of "Efficiency and Economy" resulting from consolidation will be another stereotype slogan with which to postpone the evil day. What better step to defeat the forces of Reaction could the Progressives take than to declare for further efficiency and economy—and Service—through the consolidation of all lines, under cooperative ownership?

A size-up of Wisconsin shows that that is in the air. There may be a slip somewhere. The opportunity may go by. But a knowledge of Wisconsin and LaFollette would lead one to say: "The next Congress will see vigorous and definite steps taken toward the Cooperative Ownership of our Rail Systems, and perhaps of our mines." If that should happen, the way to war on other forms of Monopoly would become clearer to the Farmer-Labor union. "On the point before us," Wisconsin seems to vote: "Aye."

The Progressives At Home

An Account of the Last Wisconsin Legislature

By THOMAS M. DUNCAN and HERMAN O. KENT

"IN the last Wisconsin legislature greater gains were made than in any single session during the past few years," declares the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. And yet, much better progress might have been made had it not been for Governor Blaine and that section of the "Progressives" which followed him.

"HOW do the Progressives behave in their own home state of Wisconsin?"

No doubt, much the same way as "Progressives" in any other state. Some do, and some don't.

The path toward Progress, like the way of true love, never runs smooth.

When a progressive movement waxeth strong, a number of hangers on inevitably appear to sing its praises. They adopt its slogans and its labels, and run for office on its tickets. They are in the forefront of its ranks—good fighters until the real fight begins. Then they abandon the ship on which they sailed to victory, and link up with the "Other Side"—the profitable reactionary side. (For a moment contemplate, Irvin Lenroot and Newton D. Baker, as examples, sneaking into public office on the coattails of LaFollette and Tom Johnson—and then being counted among the "missing" when a big crisis came.)

That is part of the story of the 1923 legislature in Wisconsin. It opened under the most favorable auspices—"with an overwhelming Socialist-Farmer-Labor majority in the lower house and with an even division in the Senate," writes Thomas M. Duncan, Socialist assemblyman from the 4th Milwaukee district and secretary to Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee. "The senate division was due to the holding over of half of the members of the upper house, elected in 1920 in the conservative Harding landslide."

"The state officials,—governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, treasurer and secretary of state were also swept into office by Senator Robert M. LaFollette's re-election, were branded as LaFollette men and were elected by majorities of over 300,000.

"The beginning of the session found the Socialist-Farmer-Labor group headed by the Speaker of the House, John L. Dahl; Lieutenant Governor Comings, president of the Senate; Senator Henry Huber, president pro tem of the Senate; Senator Herman Severson, LaFollette floor leader in the Senate, and the Socialist group of ten members in the House and three in the Senate, in complete harmony as to program and interpretation of the voters' mandate."

Good Fruits

So far, so good. The "Progressives" were in

the saddle. The Socialists, with a strong delegation, were almost in the same position—at least in the House—in relation to the Farmer-Labor and Reactionary groups, as the "progressives" will be in relation to the Republicans and Democrats in the coming Congress. What happened thereafter? Mr. Duncan tells us.

"The lower house, dominated by the Socialist-Farmer-Labor group, led off by passing the Socialist bill to abolish the Wisconsin National Guard, the pride of the Wisconsin open-shop movement, Associations of Commerce, etc., by a vote of 65 to 14.

"The lower house passed the compulsory eight-hour day bill prepared by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

"It passed the Federation of Labor bill providing for labeling of prison made goods.

"It passed the Socialist bill abolishing compulsory student military training at the University of Wisconsin.

"It passed the bill prohibiting the State of Wisconsin from building any more armories.

"It passed the bill limiting the hours for women to eight in a day and to forty-eight in a week.

"It passed the constitutional amendment calling for (1) a constitutional convention, (2) the initiative, referendum and recall and (3) allowing the state to enter the marketing business.

"It passed the bills providing for a State owned cement plant; making more stringent provisions regarding child labor; making liberal increases in workingmen's compensation awards; lowering the hours of labor for women employed in hotels; a bill which would make it impossible for private detective agencies to operate in Wisconsin in labor disputes, and numerous other labor bills prepared by the State Federation of Labor; farmer legislation recommended by the American Society of Equity and farmer organizations, and several bills prepared by the Socialist party."

The Governor Leaps

Perhaps never was a State regaled with so much progressive legislation in one session as Wisconsin in its lower house in 1923. The Socialist and Farmer-Labor combine was going strong, with only the Senate apparently to head it off. It was almost too good to be true. And

so, it appears, reasoned Governor Blaine, the "disciple" of LaFollette. He leaped over the fence, and fell on the "Other Side."

"When the lower house passed a revision of the tax law prepared by its speaker increasing the rates on incomes and eliminating the State tax levy on property, Governor John J. Blaine deserted the Farmer-Labor combination, apparently becoming frightened by the outcry of the Conservatives over any revision of the tax laws.

"The governor sent a special message to the legislature calling a halt on tax legislation; he called a caucus of the liberal senators and demanded that they kill the bill abolishing the National Guard. He lobbied among the senators against the eight-hour day bill and had it killed in the senate, and he did no active work whatever in obtaining votes in any labor or farmer legislation. He had the appropriation to eradicate bovine tuberculosis cut from a million dollars to a half million dollars.

"The desertion of the Socialist-Farmer-Labor group by the governor brought an open break between the governor and the rest of the LaFollette forces, the lieutenant governor, the speaker of the house, Senator Severson, Attorney General Ekern and Secretary of State Zimmermann remaining with the radical group. But the retreat of the governor into the Conservative ranks was sufficient to kill any prospects of tax revision and to slaughter in the senate two-thirds of the good bills passed in the lower house. The governor swung two or three senators with him and nullified Senator LaFollette's 300,000 majority obtained the previous November."

What the Socialists and Farmer-Laborites Did

But the governor, in his effort to out-Lenroot Lenroot, could not halt the entire progressive wave. Some measures leaked through the dam he built against them. Put all together, they make a rather imposing array of "forward" legislation.

"The pressure of the Socialist-Farmer-Labor group was so strong," Mr. Duncan continues, "that much legislation formerly considered radical, went through both houses and was enacted into law with the governor's signature."

Firstly, "the constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum, and the Socialist amendment providing for home rule for cities, passed both houses." Then came this deluge:

"A law was enacted making compulsory, Farmer-Labor representation on the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin; limiting the hours of labor for women to fifty in one week and not more than nine in any one day; **cutting the appropriation of the National Guard from \$1,200,000 to \$550,000; abolishing compulsory military training at the University of Wisconsin; making general increases in workmen's compensation awards; restricting the**

granting of injunctions arising out of labor disputes; giving the legislature power to recall and remove appointive officers; accepting the Federal Maternity act; restricting the height of buildings in cities; slightly cutting the hours of women employes in hotels and placing them for the first time under the Industrial Commission regulations; granting home owners a \$500 exemption from taxation on homestead improvements; repealing all tax exemptions on land; legalizing peaceful picketing; forbidding any judge to direct a verdict after evidence has been presented to a jury; appropriating \$550,000 annually for the wiping out of bovine tuberculosis, and prohibiting the State of Wisconsin from erecting any more armories."

A "Slaughter House"

To top this off, legislation hostile to labor had not a chance in the world. The lower house became a "slaughter house"—in which the full regular Republican and Democratic policies of reaction bled and died. "Bills to create a State police, bills to forbid municipal employes joining unions, bills to force unions to incorporate, bills to make it possible to seize union treasuries during strikes"—were all relentlessly killed.

"The net result of the 1923 session is a distinct gain for labor and encouragement for the farmer," according to Mr. Duncan's final verdict.

"Greater progress was prevented by the timidity of the governor and his inability to frame or to agree upon any constructive program. He refused even to help a constitutional amendment to allow cities to obtain public ownership of their public utilities—showing how far men will go when stung by the poison of Reaction.

"The prospect ahead is rosy for the common people. The Wisconsin Socialist-Farmer-Labor group will control the next Senate without any doubt, since it is necessary for them to win only four seats out of the sixteen to be filled at the next election. Their problem is to re-elect a favorable lower House and to put a Farmer-Labor representative in the governor's chair, one who will remain loyal to the forces electing him. Then Wisconsin will begin to deserve fully the reputation it enjoys as a Progressive Commonwealth."

"The Breakdown of LaFollette-ism"

A less favorable view of the possibilities of alliance between Socialists and "Progressives" is taken by Herman O. Kent, former Socialist representative in the lower house and member of the Typographical Union. The break within the "Progressive" ranks in the last legislature he terms "the Breakdown of LaFollette-ism."

"The rule of the so-called Progressives in Wisconsin is nearing an end," in his opinion. "It will bring general rejoicing when the union members of the rank and file realize that they have been led around by the nose by certain

LABOR AGE

shrewd politicians, 'playing' the Labor Movement for their own individual purposes.

"Not only have the workers fallen flat in their expectations of getting much legislation, but the Labor Movement is suffering today from its support of the so-called Progressives. For, the workers were urged to cast their votes with the Republican party last fall—and this was just what Big Business and the Open Shoppers wanted. These reactionaries knew what they were about—they feared the power of the growing Socialist movement, the real labor party. Labor support of the half-baked 'Progressives' was the idea they hit upon, with much success.

"The rule of LaFollette is breaking down, even though its leader may be sincere. Big Business has labelled its candidates 'LaFollette men' to get them elected. Thus, has the LaFollette regime cost the people of Wisconsin millions of dollars. The railway rate commission, estab-



Milwaukee Leader

THE WISCONSIN WAY

A Sample of What the Socialists Did to the State Militia

lished by LaFollette when governor, has been an instrument of greater good to the corporations than to the people.

"Other laws passed under the Progressive rule of 10 years ago have been costly to the people of Milwaukee and other cities. Before the Progressives were in power in the state, the railroads had to pay for all track elevation or depression expenses. But because of a 'Progressive' law, the city of Milwaukee—the taxpayers—have had to pay some eight millions of dollars to relieve the railroad. At the present time, the Common Council has \$1,000,000 in its budget on account of this law.

"It has been the Socialists in Wisconsin, not

the Progressives, to whom Organized Labor has had to look year in and year out, for progressive legislation and for other help. In 1917—when the war hysteria was at its height—Brother Frank B. Metcalfe and myself, as members of the legislature, led the battle for labor and defeated the most vicious bills aimed against the labor movement. Under these measures the workers who dared to stand up for their rights could have been imprisoned for 10 years in the penitentiary, their unions broken up, picketing prevented. All these bills were sponsored by the old parties, Democrats and Republicans alike joining in the fray on the side of reaction. Other Socialists before and after us have carried on a similar fight to 'send to the depths' old party measures injuring the workers.

Could Not Defend "Free Speech"

"Read the LaFollette paper of March, 1917, and see that when all others were cowed, the Socialists were fearless. The 'genuine' LaFollette state senators hurried to vote for drastic anti-labor bills. They lined up behind the espionage bills. Every Progressive senator at one time or another in that session went on record against the workers' movement. And every LaFollette senator voted to oust their Socialist colleague, Raguse, in 1917, because he dared to denounce the war as a money war. They did this in face of the fact that every Socialist in the legislature remained all night in session to defend LaFollette, when the reactionaries sought to pass a resolution to censor him.

"To this extreme does compromising 'Progressivism' go—that it can not even defend Free Speech in time of crisis, even though it itself is indirectly affected.

"The cheapest political tricks have been played by the so-called LaFollette men, to capitalize the desire of the workers and the farmers for a change. Dubbing themselves followers of 'Fighting Bob,' they have turned upon the people at the first opportunity in many instances and have endorsed the re-actionaries. A few only have remained true in every lineup. In the last legislature they failed woefully on the tax issue. They balked when it came to taxing big incomes, which would have taken the burden of state support from the homes of the common people.

"The quicker the people oust the Progressives the better. While a few are sincere, the Progressives in the old parties are keeping the real issues away from the people. There can be no hope of moving forward under that condition. The real people's party in Badgerdom is the Socialist party. Actual experience has shown that. It must be strengthened for the task of 1924."

From these two accounts you can see Wisconsin politically, at home. It is the picture in miniature of what is happening in the Nation. Many are called to the Progressive camp, but not so many last out the heat of the day.

A Bank "of the Common Folks"

An Adventure in Cooperative Money-Keeping

By FRANK B. METCALFE

STONE WALLS and iron bars do not a prison make. Neither do they make a bank.

The workers of Milwaukee have learned this during the last twelve years—from their own cooperative bank, one of the first of its kind in this country. The frowning walls and bars of big private banking institutions have no fears for them. The mystery of Money and its growth no longer holds them in fear and awe. Each one of them has become a little J. P. Morgan so far as banking knowledge is concerned, using this knowledge for their own common good and not for Morgan's motives.

For years this democratic bank, thus carrying the message of cooperative finance to the workers, was hidden away so modestly that one could scarcely find it. Thousands must have passed its doors without realizing that it was at all in existence. Just off Wisconsin Street, in the heart of the city, a little door led to a second story. This little door lay between two large banking institutions and was completely overshadowed by them. It was the entrance to the bank of the common folks—the Commonwealth Mutual Savings Bank.

In this year 1923, Labor has awakened to the value of controlling its own credit. Banks for the workers are springing up in city after city. Their development is thought to be a natural function of the Movement. But it was different in 1912, when the "Commonwealth" was begun. Professional bankers were looked upon as a sort of priesthood, who alone could handle the people's money in a collective way. That was the accustomed order of things. To buck up against this superstition and show it to be false was real pioneering work.

The Man and an Old Newspaper

The pioneer for the task was found in Milwaukee. He is Charles C. Whitnall, a man of vision and of action. His attainments reach far beyond the science of Money; for he is also, among other things, the City Planner of Wisconsin's largest city. To him the city owes a great debt for the public service he has given year in and year out, to make it a worth while and beautiful living place.

Next to Whitnall, an old, discarded newspaper is most responsible for the "Commonwealth's" beginning. Great things have come out of even smaller accidents than that. This paper had been used in wrapping a bundle which came in Whitnall's hands. In it he read the story of the Beloit Savings Bank, of Beloit, Wisconsin. A Mr.

Hanson, coming out of a machine shop in that place, had started a Mutual Bank there, which today has developed a three million dollar deposit.

At the time that he read the old paper, however, Whitnall did not think to make practical use of this knowledge. He was then a florist, with his mind on quite different things. But circumstances changed, causing him first to take a position with a Trust Company and then to become City Treasurer of Milwaukee—on the Socialist ticket.

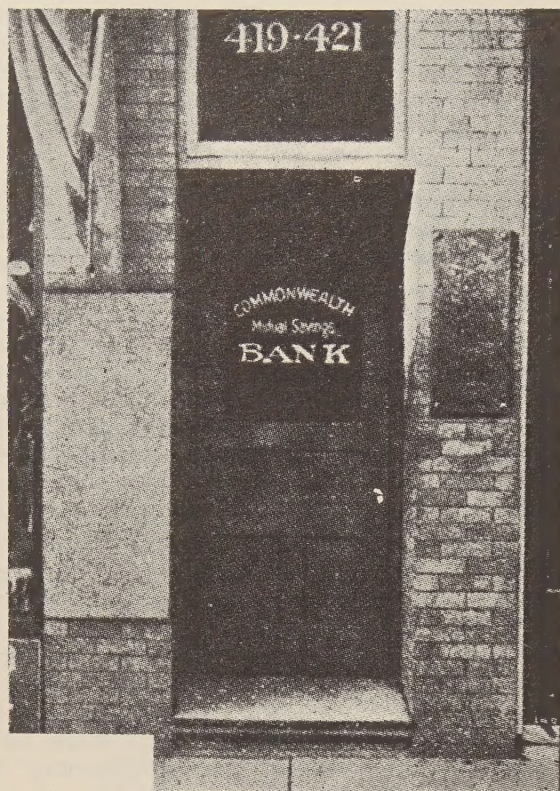
"Two years in that office," he says, "afforded me an opportunity to study. I came quite firmly to the conclusion that banks should be managed solely for the conservation of the people's earnings. I believe in the axiom, 'Root hog, or die', and the success of the rooter is dependent upon economy or conservation. It became quite evident to me that bankers generally were seeking means for exploitation; that banks were being operated for the purpose of 'making money' for the banker."

Among the things that he discovered as City Treasurer was that the poor folks pay their taxes early, the money being turned over to the banks by the City at only 2 per cent interest. On the other hand, the large taxpayers held off to the last, borrowing this money from the banks at 6 per cent to pay their own taxes. This led Mr. Whitnall to get legislation—still in force in Milwaukee—allowing taxpayers to secure an extension of from one to six months, paying 6 per cent interest to the city. "Two birds are killed" in this way. The worker gets an extension of taxes at a reasonable rate of interest, when such is necessary; and the city makes the difference between the 2 and the 6 per cent.

He also tried to secure the passage of a law which would allow the City Treasurer, after being bonded, to receive savings deposits. This would have made the city the banker of the people's money. But the bankers became aroused at this and the legislation was defeated in the state legislature. Then, Mr. Whitnall thought of the old newspaper and the Beloit Savings Bank.

"Banking at Cost"

He determined to build up a similar bank of the people for the bigger city. He called together a group of men whom he knew to be sympathetic—and out of the gathering the bank was born. First it was housed in the Secretary's office. Then, it took the modest quarters in a loft in the banking section, which I have mentioned. Its force at first served without pay, and for a number of years its career was a hard and thorny one. At



LABOR AGE Photos

THE LITTLE DOOR

Which Opened to the People's Bank in its Early Years

the end of three years, the Secretary (Mr. Whitnall) was voted a salary of \$25 per month and a dividend of 3½ per cent was distributed. Prior to that time the dividend had been only 3 per cent. It has now been increased to 4 per cent—on deposits, you must understand, not on shares of stock. There are no shares of stock in this bank, for stock would mean that the bank was run on the profit basis to a degree at least. Here we have real “banking at cost”—made possible by the Mutual Banking Law of this state.

But the “Commonwealth” is unique in other things, which do not grow out of the law under which it operates. There is the provision that the bank will make no loans to an individual or institution injurious in any way or opposed to Organized Labor. It specializes, too, in assisting workers to remove mortgages from their homes. Its fees for making loans are far below the charges of other banks, and its interest charge, of never more than 5 per cent, is also lower than that of other money lenders. Its methods of making payments are as easy as possible, even an amount as low as \$5 being accepted on the principal, on interest-paying days. On June 30, 1923 its total resources amounted to \$831,981.99—not a large sum, as banking resources go, but large enough to have done great good for the workers of the Cream City. It is a sum which represents real service without one cent of profit to the professional banker.

The Borrower

The challenging thing in the Milwaukee bank is contained in Mr. Whitnall's own words at the last meeting of the bank's friends, and which he has repeated to me and to others at many other times. “We are as much concerned,” he says, “about the borrower's welfare as we are about the depositor's—it is a mutual affair with them, we, as a bank, charging only the actual cost of handling the business. We are building a bank based on the belief that banks are non-productive; that money is not a commodity; and that our system of handling credits is more convenient, more economical and safer for large numbers of the people than they could manage them independently, and our services in the matter are considered as ‘labor worthy of its hire’.”

Each person who leaves his money becomes a partner of the bank—and each person who borrows money, in a somewhat similar way, also benefits by its operation.

“Drinking Salt Water”

The spirit of cooperation is the only force that will develop banking so that Labor may receive a fair deal—according to Mr. Whitnall. “This true spirit,” he says, “is born of intelligence and understanding, and although slow in growth, forms the basis of a solid and dependable banking community. The element of selfishness attracted by large dividends, is more speculative than cooperative, and cannot be relied upon. We hope that our depositors will not come much faster than they learn the spirit of cooperation, which has made us so strong.”

Rushing to the legislature for “relief” against banking exploitation will avail nothing, in his opinion, while the same folks who cry out against such exploitation hurry to help it along on the promise of 7 per cent or more. “Such conduct is like drinking salt water to quench thirst.” Education in cooperative, democratic banking is the large task—and that a bank of the people alone can do.

No longer does the Milwaukee worker, as a result of this education, enter the bank with hat in hand, in fear, as though entering a sacred temple. He views the bank as something of his own, the depository of the “common wealth.”

It is in this business of removing the mystery of banking that the “Commonwealth” has done its effective task. Its success cannot be measured in terms of big banking operations. It is not a rival of the private national banks in the same sense that some of the labor banks are, which have international union backing. But it grew up when other labor banking experiments were still undreamed of, and demonstrated that the handling of money by groups is not at all a difficult matter. It held up the torch of cooperative money-keeping, furnishing the light to other labor bodies which has shown the way to their success.

The Leader Among Labor Dailies

Milwaukee's Paper Is Rightly Named

By JOHN M. WORK

MANY wrecks of Labor Dailies "strew the sands of time."

Success has not smiled upon the Movement's efforts in journalism, so far as the business office is concerned. Some "labor dailies" have given up the ghost before they have seen the light of day. Some have gone through repeated reorganizations, due to their financial troubles. Some have led a caterpillar existence; changing back and forth from daily to weekly publications. All that have been published, and are published, in the English language are heavily in debt—except one.

That one and only labor daily paper in the English-speaking world to put itself on a basis of self-support is the Milwaukee Leader. Being the one exception to the rule up to the present of consistent financial failure in the labor daily field, it holds out a lamp of hope that maybe its experience can be duplicated in other places. Perhaps the reorganized New York Call can shortly take its place beside Milwaukee's paper as a "box office" success. At any rate, one must look into the history of the Leader as one would look at "something different" anywhere. At present, its position is unique.

But the seas that it sailed to this port of Success were rough, nevertheless. Battling for the rights of Labor from its initial number, the Leader has had a career that can be called "stormy" without exaggeration. At first it even had a deficit financially. Because of the numbers and the purchasing power and loyalty of its readers, the big advertisers began using it before long. That is the biggest secret of its progress: the loyalty of its readers. They have held firm to it through thick and thin. As a result, it was on a self-sustaining basis when the war broke out in 1917. Realizing that it was a capitalist war, the paper took a frank anti-war and pro-peace position. Then things began to pop.

The Price of Telling the Truth

In October, 1917, the Leader's second class mailing right was withdrawn by the despots at Washington, because it was telling the truth about the war. This was a terrific blow. It cut off nearly the whole of the mail subscription list—about 14,000 subscribers—at one clip. War fans also bulldozed some of the advertisers into withdrawing their patronage. For a time, it looked as if suspension was inevitable. **But the Leader's family of readers in Milwaukee city and county showed their mettle.** The paper successfully passed through the crisis—and continued to tell the truth.

In August, 1918—finding that the previous

blow had not knocked the Leader out—the tyrants thought to finish it by cutting off its incoming mail. All mail addressed to it was sent back, stamped "Undeliverable under the espionage act." This was another severe blow. Neither subscribers nor advertisers could write to the paper and have their letters delivered. Any ordinary newspaper would have been crushed. But the Leader's family of readers is not ordinary. They came to the front again—gloriously—and again the despots were baffled.

The office of the paper was raided twice by the department of alleged justice. The files of the paper and parts of the records were taken and kept for months. The editor-in-chief was indicted, tried and sentenced to serve twenty years in the penitentiary, besides being plastered with other indictments and ousted from the lower house of congress to which he had been elected.

All this persecution failed to kill the paper or to dampen the spirits and good nature of its publishers and editors. In June, 1921—two and a half years after the armistice—the outgoing and incoming mail rights were restored. Berger's conviction was reversed and the other indictments dismissed. The tyrants were finally routed. Loyalty, Determination, and a Sense of Humor had beaten them. The Leader "came up smiling."

Two Hundred Thousand Readers

The subscription list has steadily increased until it is now slightly under 50,000. As it is a home paper, mainly delivered by carrier, this means that over 200,000 men, women and children get it daily—in other words, almost one-half of the population of Milwaukee city and county.

In addition to being a labor paper, The Leader is a newspaper of the highest quality. No one who takes it has any excuse for taking any other paper, and as a general thing, the subscribers do not. The news is covered thoroughly. The women depend upon the paper for the department store and other announcements of goods. The children delight in its stories and funnies. One page is devoted to sports. The drama is well covered. There are health talks and other special features. Translations from European Socialist papers are a specialty. It is strong on labor news. While it does not eliminate scandals, it plays them down, in an effort to make the paper fit to go into any home.

Laughing and Crying

The editorial page endeavors to give truthful and punchy interpretations of current events.

LABOR AGE

The international editorials are written by Ernest Untermann. The national and other domestic editorials are written by yours truly. We are pleased to see our writings widely reprinted in other Socialist and labor papers. The re-



Keystone Photos

EDITOR AND CONGRESSMAN
Who Needs No Introduction

mainder of the editorial page is devoted to articles designed to give the readers a liberal education in economics, politics and kindred subjects, together with some lighter features.

That is another point in the Leader's rule of Success: that it, as a daily, must serve all the needs of its readers. It must not merely see the serious problems, but also the lighter side of life. It must laugh and cry with its loyal army of supporters, just as they, and you and I laugh and cry in real life.

Now, a word about its personnel and organization. It was on the seventh day of December, 1911, that the paper came into existence, published by the Social Democratic Publishing Company. This company still is the publisher, its stock being owned chiefly by unions, Socialist party branches and individual Socialists and unionists. At the time that the start was made, the name of the Social Democratic party had not, in Wisconsin, been changed to the Socialist party. Hence, the name of the company. The party's name was later changed, but the company's name remains the same. From the beginning, Victor L. Berger has been the editor-in-chief, and Elizabeth H. Thomas the guardian angel, of the paper. An exceedingly happy combination, as events have shown.

Milwaukee a Socialist City

And exceedingly good fruits have flown therefrom. Milwaukee, as you may know, has a Socialist mayor. It also has eleven Socialist mem-

bers of the state legislature and a Socialist Congressman, besides numerous Socialist members of various boards and commissions. This is due chiefly to the influence of the Leader.

During the entire period of its existence, the paper has been in the vanguard of Labor's fight for better conditions and a higher civilization.

This is the purpose to which it is dedicated—and it proudly stands upon its record in the struggle. It has faced the fiends of reaction without flinching and has come off victorious. It receives the support of the main body of the working masses because they know it is not merely their friend but their own paper—at once their voice and their weapon.

There are but four labor dailies in America, published in the English language, but these four show what can be done. I have often expressed the opinion that the unions ought to start a daily paper in the metropolis or capital city of every state in which there is none already. Just think of the millions of dollars that are wasted in strikes that fail, to say nothing of the high cost of those that only half succeed! A few of these millions would start a daily in each state, and make it successful. Labor could then elect the president, senators, representatives, governors, legislators, etc.—and not have to strike any more.



THE LEADER'S GUARDIAN
Whose Backing Has Meant Its Success

American Labor at Portland

"Industrial Democracy" Declared Goal of Movement

"INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY"—in order to secure service in industry instead of "for the purpose of producing private profit"—is the goal of the American Labor Movement.

So declares the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in their report to the 43d Annual Convention of that body, meeting in Portland, Ore., during the first weeks of October.

It is the first time that the council has made such an extended statement of the objective toward which they are striving. In their opinion the hour has struck for a "pronouncement on the aims of Labor" that shall more fully express the entire program of American trade unionism. Their decision is hailed by **Labor**, organ of the rail unions, as the dawn of a new effort in the movement—a further development of the step taken in the Montreal convention, when the Plumb Plan was endorsed.

Let the Executive Council speak for itself, almost in the words of Glenn Plumb's posthumous book, **"Industrial Democracy"**:

"The period ending with the beginning of the war found political democracy in its fullest state of development, while the close of that period of overwhelming upheaval marked the opening of the period of intelligent demand and living need for industrial democracy. The close of the war marked for us a turning point in human relations and threw forth in bold relief the inadequacy of existing forms and institutions. Henceforth trade unionism has a larger message and larger function in society. Henceforth the movement for the organization of the workers into trade unions had a deeper meaning than the mere organization of groups for the advancement of group interests, however vital that function may remain."

Freedom From State Encroachments

Trade unionism hereafter must mean the organization of workers for "enlightened participation in democracy." This democracy will spell enfranchisement for the producer, the rescue of industry from chaos and from the control of incompetent individuals and incompetent political bodies. It will lead to "cooperation" in industry between groups now muddled and conflicting. It will halt definitely the "ignorant encroachments" of the state into the realm of industry—such as have taken place in the Esch-Cummins law, the Kansas Court for Industrial Relations and the Colorado Industrial Commission act. It will put an end to the use of the injunction as a weapon of the state to dominate industry. It will cause Industry to organize itself on a free, democratic basis, without the interference of a state "bureaucracy." It will usher in an "era of service."

This program, so syndicalistic in sound, is not predicated on the clashing of industrial groups. "It is not the mission of industrial groups to clash and struggle against each other. Such struggles are the signs and signals of dawning comprehension, the birth pangs of an industrial order attempting through painful experience to find itself and to discover its proper functioning. The true role of industrial groups, however, is to come together, to legislate in peace, to find the way forward in collaboration, to give of their best for the satisfaction of human needs.

There must come to industry the orderly functioning that we have been able to develop in our political life."

Investment Banker Dethroned

But the essence of this democracy is the freeing of industry from the control of the controllers of credit. Too long have they dominated American industrial policies. "When this occurs, industry finds itself guided by the desires of those who seek returns on investment, with little or no regard for any other factor." Credit, "the life blood of industry," is "continuously purloined" for exploitation and profiteering. It is used to sabotage production, in order to pave the way for "criminal manipulations" of various sorts.

That is the policy and goal set out for itself by the Executive Council, whose voice will undoubtedly be the voice of the Federation. As to how this will be carried out—or has been carried out—the council points, as its report goes on, to its war on child labor, against the usurpations of the Supreme Court, for continued immigration restriction, for the extension of workers' education, for the destruction of the Esch-Cummins law and the Kansas Industrial Court. It points emphatically to its national non-partisan political campaign as a "success," as evidenced in the elections of 1922, and declares that the Federation stands for union amalgamation, by evolution and in line with the wishes of the organizations affected. It declares against "amalgamation" pushed forward against the wishes of unions and for revolutionary purposes, and condemns the Communists, Fascisti and Ku Klux Klan.

What Is "Industrial Democracy?"

What does the declaration of the Council for "a crusade for industrial democracy" mean in concrete terms? Does it mean the further extension of such plans as the "Industrial Democracy" program of the rail unions and the coal miners, set forth in their suggestions for three-party control? **Labor** thinks that it does.

"The members of the executive council stress the fact that they are not formulating a new policy," it says. "The Montreal convention of 1920 declared for industrial democracy in the railroad industry. The Denver convention in 1921 broadened the scope of the resolutions adopted at Montreal, and now, if the Portland convention follows the lead of the executive council—and there is no doubt but that the convention will accept the recommendations with enthusiastic unanimity—industrial democracy will be made the definite goal of the American Labor Movement."

Within the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. there is, as pointed out in the July **LABOR AGE**, a decided movement toward democratic control of Industry. At the Portland convention the Federation itself may take the lead in this campaign. Such action would give great impetus to the demands of the railwaymen and miners for three-party control, an idea which would spread to unions in other industries.

During the coming year—out of the pressure of economic conditions—will undoubtedly come further big efforts to dislodge the Profit Maker and Investment Banker. That is the necessary prelude to any "Industrial Democracy."



Drawn for LABOR AGE by L. S. Chumley

"FIGHTING BOB"

Leader of the Farmer-Labor forces at the Capitol

"THERE has, in my opinion, been only one great issue in all the history of the world. That issue has been between Labor and those who would control, through slavery in one form or another, the laborers. This is history. Read it. Study it. Nations have gone down in ruin from the first dawn of history that have sought to make slaves of the great masses of men."—From speech of Robert M. LaFollette in the United States Senate.



Drawn for LABOR AGE by J. F. Anderson

A BAR TO PROGRESS

A Study In Scarlet

From THE LABOR PRESS

FOSSIL REMAINS

On the opposite page Brother Jack Anderson, of the Machinists presents a cartoon worthy of some study. The American Bar Association met last month, declared all progressive forces to be allied with Moscow, proclaimed the Supreme Court sacred and inviolate and attacked direct primaries, the initiative and referendum and other machinery for carrying out the popular will. Students of fossil remains a few years from now will place the organized lawyers beside the American Bankers' Association as choice samples of 20th century ossification.

CURES for "color-blindness" have suddenly bloomed forth as our best-advertised of patent medicines.

Starting up like mushrooms, they are guaranteed to make you see—if you follow their prescriptions—the pinkest "pink" or the yellowest "yellow" as the reddest of the "reds."

The **New York Commercial**—organ, as its name implies, of the commercial interests of the Big City—opens up a special department on "subversive movements." Said department is called the "Searchlight," presided over by one Fred R. Marvin. All of the naughty movements which disturb Big Business in its sleep are indexed and catalogued so that the tired business man may keep the full role of infamy in permanent form. Whenever a strenuous day at golf or a hilarious evening has softened him into thinking that the workers are not such bad fellows after all, this record will come in handy to jog him again into a policy of blood and iron.

The Farmer-Labor party, the Public Ownership League and the Farmers' National Council are of the feared and hated "subversives," says Mr. Marvin. Also, apparently the American Federation of Labor, listed as No. 15 on his terrifying "Index." The "American Plan" of the Open Shop is the "Americanism" this new department champions, and all who do not fall down and worship this golden calf are to be cast out into the exterior darkness. They are all set down as servants of Red Russia.

The American Bar Association hastens forth to justify the opinion that all honest men have of the legal profession as a whole. A "lying lawyer" has become as proverbial a figure of speech as a "drunken sailor" or a "crooked politician." In between its eulogy of the Supreme Court as the holiest of our institutions, which no man should touch or change in any way, and its denunciation of the initiative, referendum and recall, it manages to get in an astounding statement about the "reds." They are 1,500,000 strong, declares its Committee on American Citizenship, with 400 periodicals and newspapers and a reading public of 5,000,000 and an annual budget of \$3,000,000.

Even the **Christian Science Monitor** finds itself obliged to challenge figures such as these. It indicates that no man in his full senses can believe that so many agents and followers of Moscow are hidden in the American underbrush, and takes an anonymous thrust at the National Civic Federation and its active anti-red secretary, Mr. Easley.

The mental equipment of the solons of the American Bar must be pretty defective, thinks **Justice**, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, "if they cannot distinguish between the ever-growing legitimate and natural discontent among the great masses of workers in factories, foundry and on the farm" and the "isolated small groups of ill-balanced disrupters who take their orders from Moscow."

It is unfortunate, adds **Justice**, that the spokesman of the international office of the United Mine Workers, Mr. Ellis Searles, has fallen into a similar error of exaggeration. "The report of the mine union's committee, while plausible on the whole as far as it describes the skeleton of the Communist activities in America, is a great strain on our credulity when it asks us to believe that this handful of agents, for the most part aliens and unequipped even with the English language, has had a big influence in steel strike of 1919, in the switchmen's strike of 1920 and in the railroad and coal strikes of 1922."

The United Mine Workers, through press releases and in the **United Mine Workers' Journal**, charged that "imported revolution is knocking at the door" of that union and of the American people. It declared that this was being carried on "on a gigantic scale," that \$1,110,000 was sent into the United States from Moscow, "for the purpose of enabling the Communist agents to participate" in the miners' strike of 1922, and that (most startling of all) the massacre of the strikebreakers at Herrin, Ill., has been engineered by Communist agents. It also averred that the American Civil Liberties Union, "posing

as a champion of 'liberties, of speech, press and assemblage,' " was aiding the Communist forces and had "not in a single instance come to the assistance of a man or woman who did not profess radical sentiments, or who are not allied with the Communist, the anarchist, the revolutionary or radical movements in America."

The Civil Liberties Union promptly attacked Searles' last statement as a "mass of ridiculous insinuations." Far from only helping "radicals," it pointed to the aid it had given the miners of District 17 (West Virginia), in cooperation with the officers of that district, and to its work with President John Brophy of District 2, with President D. L. Thomas of Sub-District 7 of District 12 and others. "We have not now and never have had any interest in the tactics of the inter-factional fights of the United Mine Workers of America," its officers state, "We have confined ourselves scrupulously, consistently and exclusively to the one and only question with which we are concerned—free speech, free press and free assemblage."

Although the series of articles ended with the plea that "this is one occasion where labor and the employers might very well join hands to fight together instead of fighting each other," the business press as a whole does not seem to put credence in the statements in the articles. The **Indianapolis Star**, for example, published in the city where the international office of the miners is located, thinks the stories exaggerated and that they cannot hold water. The **New York Commercial**, good "red" hunter that it is, regards all the miners as disreputable and bloodthirsty and views the whole attack as an effort of the United Mine Workers to "clear its skirts." The coal operators seize upon the business as an opportunity again to attack the miners as a body.

Norman Thomas, the new editor of the **New York Call**, makes "a plea for fair play" to the United Mine Workers, deploring their attack, particularly on the Civil Liberties Union. (The Call is now the property largely of the needle trades unions.) "Adam Coaldigger" in the **Oklahoma Leader** "joshes" the Bar Association for its fear of the Communists. "If that handful of Communists," he says lightly, "had three million dollars, they wouldn't be Communists." He also adds: "The same report (of the Bar Association) also bemoans the fact that criticism of government and public officials is too prevalent. Sure thing. What this great democracy

needs is the compulsory acceptance of the dogmas of the immaculate conception of government, the infallibility of politicians and the foreordination of taxes."

The **Milwaukee Leader** thinks that the "proofs" against the Communists as participants in the Herrin "massacre" are too thin, saying: "The Communists were even crazier then than they are now, and they very likely would not have had any more sense than to do such a stunt, but it would not be fair to blame them without more proof." The Milwaukee paper also notes that an "anti-radical convention" is to be held in Chicago "in the early fall." Here is the why and wherefore of this remarkable convention:

"The 'reds' are getting pretty pesky. They are causing the Thoroughly Comfortable to lose a lot of much-needed sleep. Well, the way out is simple—start an anti-red drive.' That is easy, and that's going to be done.

"The 'reds' in question, however, don't seem to be the old gang. They aren't the 'Russian Bolsheviks' that the American Defense Society has been talking about under direction of Moscow authorities with lots of gold.' Indeed not.

"The announced purpose is to lead farmers away from such leaders as Senator Brookhart, the two Johnsons and Senator LaFollete, and to curb radicalism in the Middle West.

"And who do you suppose is going to do this job?

"Why, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. And the committee to carry out the decision is composed of such noble patriots and representatives of the masses as Charles Piez (remember him?) of the Deere Plow Company of Moline; of the United States Gypsum Company, and other aggregations of corporate capital."

This tendency to class all folks of progressive or radical beliefs as Communists, it will be recalled, was shown in a violent form last April by the **Railway Review**. Among many loose statements—attempting to link up the LABOR AGE, Workers' Education Bureau, American Federation of Labor, League for Industrial Democracy and Labor Bureau in one huge radical conspiracy—the railway organ charged Roger N. Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, with being "the American representative of the Third International." Mr. Baldwin countered with a flat denial, running in part as follows:

"I do not have, and have never had any connection whatever with the Third International. I am not a communist. I do not belong to any political party, and never have.

"As you, of course, know, the Third International is the official international organization of the communist movement, and no one may represent it, or belong to it who is not a member of the communist party. In view



American Farmer-Labor Cartoon Service.

WHICH IS HIS FRIEND?

This interesting drawing, from the new cartoon service just issued by the Labor Publication Society for the trade union and farmer press, gives a real view of the coal situation. Will the "Public" choose the Nationalization Program of the miners or will he continue to let the operators sandbag him?

of that fact, and my own position as stated, it is clear that your reference to me as its 'representative' was wholly unfounded.

"I appreciate your willingness to state the facts fairly. I am only concerned, as I am sure you would be in the same position, not to be identified as a communist or a representative of any communist organization when, as a matter of fact, I am opposed in principle to them."

Matthew Woll, of the American Federation of Labor, also submitted a letter to the **Railway Review**, showing that paper the error of its ways in associating the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau with the other agencies mentioned. Mr. Woll stated that this was not in criticism of these other agencies, but a statement of fact. The railway organ refused to publish his letter, which appeared subsequently in **Labor**, organ of the rail unions.

The attitude of the organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union toward the "red attacks" is not due, of course, to sympathy with the Communists. During the past month that union, through its general executive board,

has taken a decisive step against "the disruptive methods" of the extreme lefts. "Under the titles of 'Shop Delegate League,'" its statement says, "and under other disguises, members of some of our locals, often in cooperation with individuals outside of the ranks of our Union, are attempting to set up a secret and irresponsible control of the organization in the interests of a movement alien to our cause and disruptive in its aims and character." All members refusing to drop connection with such leagues will be tried and expelled from the Union, because "of conduct detrimental to the organization, in the manner provided by our Constitution."

In the opinion of **Justice**, the wild attacks on the "reds" can be summed up in this way: "To credit an isolated and 'underground' group of fanatics with influence and strength they do not possess and never can possess in America—no matter how lavishly they may be supplied with contributions from abroad—is neither good sense, policy, nor will it inspire belief."

A Bird's-eye View of European Workers' Education

By A. J. MUSTE

(Because of the opening of the workers' education season, we have asked Brother Muste to give this bird's-eye view of what is happening in European labor educational circles. It shows that this movement, far from being a new fangled idea, is a permanent institution abroad.)

A BIRDSEYE VIEW of Workers' Education in Europe can best be given, so far as I am concerned, through a brief review of what I saw and learned at the "First International Conference on Workers' Education." This was held at Brussels, Belgium, in August of last year.

It is not primarily with the discussions at the conference that I want to deal, but with the condition of the workers' education movement revealed during the sessions.

The conference itself was an indication of the growing strength of education "of the workers, by and for the workers." It was called on the initiative of the Central Committee for Workers' Education of Belgium. The preliminary work had largely been performed by the accomplished chairman of that body, Henri de Man, known to many trade unionists in America through his visit here of several months in 1920. De Man was chosen chairman of the conference and special representative of the French-speaking delegates, though he speaks with equal fluency each of the three languages used at the meeting—French, German and English.

The delegates numbered 40, representing 11 nationalities and over 20 organizations dedicated to workers' education. In a nutshell this is the condition of the movement in the Old World, as reported by them:

Belgium the Leader

Belgium does not merely lead the other countries alphabetically. Undoubtedly it is at the present time, in its accomplishments, the banner country in this field. Its Central Committee is composed of representatives chosen by the Trade Union Movement, the Socialist (or Labor) party, and the Cooperative Movement. In Belgium the industrial, political and cooperative movements are all unified within themselves and work in complete harmony with each other, a truly unique situation.

Numerous classes are held among the workers every year. The Central Committee has an excellent library service, by means of which good literature is made accessible to the workers. A moving-picture service on a large scale was in process of organization before the war and is now being reconstructed. At Uccle, a suburb of Brussels, is the Higher School (College) for Workers' Education. This is a well-equipped, beautifully located institution where about 25 students at a time are taken in residence for an intensive course formerly of six months, just now lengthened to ten, the work being of such a nature as to equip them for "work in the workers' movements." It was in the buildings of this college that our Conference held its meetings and the delegates were housed. In those cities and districts of Belgium where Socialists control the government, practically the entire expenses of the workers' education movement are borne by these governments. Elsewhere, only small sums are accepted from the authorities in order that the movement may not lose its independence. In either case, the work is all under the exclusive control of the workers and their elected representatives.

Germany contributed its share to the conference. From that country came representatives of the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Central Education Committee of the Social Democratic (Majority) party, and the Shop Delegates School and Trades Council of Berlin. Before the war the Workers' Education Movement in Germany was in a most flourishing condition. The Social Democratic party and the Trade Unions actively cooperated. There were 450 local Joint Educational Committees, and a Trade Union College in Berlin. Post-war divisions have hurt the movement considerably. Owing to these political divisions, the industrial and political wings of the movement cannot now work together.

Nevertheless, it was evident that an immense amount of work is again being done. Numerous classes are held not only in economics and trade unionism, but in scientific and cultural subjects.

Lectures, concerts, theatre performances for workers are frequent. Workers' Colleges are again beginning to operate in Frankfurt and elsewhere. A most interesting new departure are the schools organized for the Works Councillors or Shop Delegates, whom the unions now elect according to the law of the German Republic in all shops and whose powers of control over industry are considerable.

Czecho-Slovakia is also doing its bit. This month by means of a summer school at Zurich, the "Labor Academy of Prague." This is not exactly what its name would suggest to an American reader, but more nearly a Central Committee on Workers' Education for the entire country. It has been in existence for twenty-five years, but before the war was not so clearly working-class in basis as at present. Under the joint auspices of this "Academy" and local Socialist, trade union and cooperative committees, classes are organized in labor, scientific and cultural subjects. Lectures and concerts are provided, entertainments and classes for children of workers given and gymnastic societies formed. Tens of thousands of workers and their wives and children are affected by the movement. The Trade Unions levy a regular "cultural tax" on their members, collected just as systematically as the regular dues. The proceeds of the tax are turned over to the "Academy" and the local committees for workers' education!

The Danish delegate to the conference came from the National Joint Committee for Workers' Education of the Social Democratic party and the Trade Unions. It is expected that the cooperatives will also soon be represented on the committee. The educational work here is still in its infancy.

It is interesting to note that the Folk High Schools (about which a good deal has been heard in our country and which are undoubtedly interesting from certain points of view) are regarded as essentially middle-class and not part of the Danish workers' education movement.

Divisions Hurt French

France was represented by a member of the Metal Workers' Union. The unhappy divisions which have split asunder the French trade union movement have almost completely wrecked the workers' education movement. Before the war it had attained fair proportions and was making progress. Isolated classes are being

reorganized, but the national movement has not yet been rebuilt.

Holland and Luxembourg are not neglecting this new idea. Delegates of the Central Education Committee of the Social Democratic party, and of the Trade Union Congress were in attendance from the former country. Steps are now being taken to form a joint national committee for education of these two organizations. Numerous local experiments, under way before the war, have now been taken up again with renewed spirit. The example of Belgium is spurring on her Dutch neighbor.

As to Luxembourg, a delegate was present representing the Central Committee for Workers' Education. This committee was established in 1921 by nine of the larger trade unions and is a tribute to their wide-awake character. The trade union movement itself is of recent origin in Luxembourg and naturally its educational work is not yet highly developed. It is interesting to note that this work dates from the time when a number of progressive teachers organized and joined the labor movement. The unionization of teaching forces everywhere is essential to far-reaching workers' education. So they have found in Luxembourg and so will we find here.

The Joint Committee for Education of the Swiss Trade Unions and Social Democratic party likewise sent delegates. There are 100 joint local committees carrying on classes, lectures, etc., in Europe's "inland island." A beginning has just been made at a more intensive training for active workers in the labor movement. A new nation was represented by delegates of Out of this will grow an even greater extension of activities.

Poor Austria

Austria was unfortunately not directly represented, as no workers could afford to pay the traveling expenses to Belgium. When the Swiss comrades learned of this shortly before the conference date, they immediately sent word that they would pay the expenses of the Austrian delegates but evidently the information about this fine act of solidarity did not reach the latter in time. One of the Swiss delegates intimately acquainted with the Austrian situation reported on that stricken country. It appears that in spite of the terrible conditions prevailing there the fine workers' education movement in existence before the war is rapidly being built up anew. Classes are operating for men,

women, adolescents, children and shop stewards. Last year 2,000 out of the 10,000 shop stewards in Vienna attended classes regularly. A Women's Workers' College with fifty students exists. Vienna still has its Workers' Theatre. In many instances there are educational committees in the factories and shops interesting the workers on the job in Education.

From England came representatives of the Workers' Educational Association, Ruskin College, the Workers' Education Trade Union Committee, the Trades Union Congress, the London Labour College, the Scottish Labour College, the National Council of Labour Colleges and the Cooperative Union.

Several Pages for Britain

It would require several pages to give even an inadequate sketch of the enormous amount of educational work being done by these various agencies. Suffice it to mention here, though to a considerable number of American workers in the labor movement this is already well known, that the first four institutions represent in the main the center and right groups of the British Labor Movement. The "Labour College" movement, on the other hand, represents the left or more revolutionary groups. Each of the two movements appears to have between 20,000 and 30,000 students in its classes throughout the country. Each, also, has its resident college—the former, Ruskin College at Oxford with upwards of 50 resident students and also large numbers taking its correspondence courses; the latter, the Labour College at London with about 35 students in residence.

The salaries of some of the tutors in the W. E. A. classes are paid out of government funds and Ruskin College also receives a subsidy from this source. The Labour College movement strenuously criticises the acceptance of such grants by workers' organizations from "capitalist" governments. The Cooperative movement, too, carries on an extensive educational work of its own, not the least significant part of which is the classes for children of co-operators with thousands of members. Co-operators expect soon to have their own resident cooperative college.

We must not forget Australia. An instructor in the Victoria Labour College was that far-off island's delegate. The movement there is in its infancy. It is marked by the same division as that observed in Great Britain, just as it reflects Great Britain in so many other things.

At the close of the conference Chairman de Man observed that although he had kept more closely in touch than anyone else perhaps with what is being done in various countries in the field of workers' education, the reports made had astonished him by their revelation of the truly vast amount of work that is being carried on. I am sure that even the very brief and imperfect sketch of those reports here given must make upon the reader a similar impression. The work is varied. In some lands only a little is being done, in others the institutions of the workers' themselves are able to provide them with a practically complete educational system, moral, intellectual, physical.

Methods vary. Degrees of class-consciousness vary. But the whole makes an imposing movement, that is evidently full of vitality, in no sense stereotyped and cramped, but seeking to adapt itself to the needs of the workers it aims to serve and by whom it is controlled.

To have brought together workers in this movement from various lands and given them an opportunity to exchange information, was in itself a great service. What the Conference did to make further cooperation possible between various countries can be most briefly and satisfactorily set forth by quoting two of the resolutions passed.

Emancipation the Aim

1. The International Conference on Workers' Education welcomes the important work which, as appears from the reports given, is being done for working-class education; and appeals to national and international labor organizations, industrial, political and cooperative, to continue this work with all their energy for the economic and political emancipation of the working-class.

2. The Conference request the Central Committee for Workers' Education of Belgium to take steps to ensure the maintenance of relations between the organizations here represented, until the holding of the next conference, which it is decided shall be held two years hence, and to consult with the Amsterdam Trade Unions International on the possibility of creating a permanent clearing house for the international workers' education movement.

Thus another bond between the workers of all lands is being fashioned. All labor unionists and labor educationalists owe a great debt of gratitude to the Belgian friends for making this possible. Long live the Workers' Education International!

“Manly Pride”

Something of the “Why” of the K. K. K.

By PRINCE HOPKINS

THE greatest weakness of us men is that we're too conscious of our many virtues. It corresponds to the weakness of women, not to be conscious that we men have any virtues. Now, this present article is a frank confession of our one great fault. It is intended to take the wind out of the sails of such champions of the fair sex as may cavil at an article in a forthcoming number of *LABOR AGE*, in which I will rashly discuss “The Feminine Mind.”

Although women, with their subtle flattery of imitating us, which makes them so charming, have largely usurped the trait of vanity,—still vanity is an essentially masculine quality. The male among the lower animals is the one to parade before his intended partner in the mating season—our reversal of this practice is a recent innovation. The female selects that male whose parading most intrigues her. Thus, the most egotistical males came, on the whole, to be chosen as our remote forefathers, and they passed their trait down to us by inheritance.

Her mirror is the visible sign of woman's license to be vain about her personal appearance—though why so many of her are vain is a question. Yet Man, holding no such license, trespasses on even this ground, as evidenced by his stealthy glances at the looking-glasses in elevators or at his reflection as he passes the plate glass shop windows. When he ignores the opportunities so afforded, it is often the sign of a magnificent confidence that everything about himself **must** be all right.

We often laugh at women's childish concern with the latest modes in dress. Yet how many men dare to appear on Fifth Avenue after the first of May without changing the boller hat they wore so jauntily the day before, into a straw? Or how many will pass the fashionable haberdashery shops without noting the new colors in ties?

Red Fezes and Night Gowns

The tendency of women's clubs seems to be constantly away from the frivolous and infantile. They have passed the stage which the most popular men's associations still remain in,

of exploiting some bizarre costume. What woman would you ever see, appearing with her kind upon the street in dozens, with even the mild distinction of a little red fez with black tassel? Much less, in complete uniform terminating in cocked hat with turkey feathers and wearing a clanking, though blunt, sabre at her side? Or riding through the dark in a nightgown, and with her head hooded in a pillow case, after swearing frightful oaths to “wizards,” “goblins” and the like?

Man's vanity runs through even that thing of all others wherein he should forget himself—his love. His wish is, to show prowess among women. Or, having annexed one of them as his wife, he makes her the means of displaying his wealth or what he calls his generosity. Just as women, often, think that love is the only serious concern in the world, and that everything else which their husbands do is unimportant distracting play; so men too often subordinate love to business, and make both love and work minister simply to their self esteem.

The work, as well as the love, of course, suffers from this. The best work, no more than the best love-making, can not be done from the motive of vanity. The best work is precisely a service of love, and can be performed only in love's spirit. Yet it is not in those channels of appearance, in which woman is chiefly concerned, that man's greatest arrogance appears. It is rather in the realm of his public functions, of which the first is his work.

Where the artisan, imbued with a love of his materials and his implements, sets out to fashion some article according to the truth of his perception, he fashions well. But what he does for the sake of praise, or in order that by the price it brings in the market he may satisfy other vanities, has seldom as fine a quality. The spirit in which the work was done, subtly affects the product.

Quantity vs. Quality

The social system in which we live today, dictates that little work may be done for love of it, as it largely was under the ancient and the

mediaeval systems, but must be rushed onto the market to satisfy the impulse of display. In this, our culture is perhaps the most narrowly masculine that has ever been, since competition, its essential theory, is the glorification of masculinity. By this it has achieved quantity of production, at the sacrifice of quality—quantity production, supporting quantity rather than quality of life. Unfortunately, as the war showed, quantity production alone may end in quantity destruction. We are also learning that the quantity of life it sustains is no sufficient test of the worth of a social order—far more important is the quality which it can give to life.

The feminine attribute of compassion is needed in our society to offset this rivalrous vanity. We need to infuse into our institutions more motherly solicitude for those who do not shine supremely at the game of mastering others. And of masculine traits, we need to bring out more those which work in with the compassionate ideal; for example, the male tendency to cooperate.

The functions of hunting, fighting, and others in which concerted action was vital to success, have, from immemorial times, fallen to the lot of Man. To Woman, on the other hand, were delegated subordinate labors, like housekeeping, which could be attended to by her singly. He, therefore, preceded her in developing a faculty for getting together, on great tasks, with the rest of his kind.

Man and Nations are Alike

This is the very reason why Man, not Woman, first formed the State, and impressed upon it his own nature—predatory and proud. Nations, like men their prototypes, are naturally braggarts. They fight their neighbors to "make the world safe for democracy" at the same moment that they may be refusing the franchise to the whole female half of their citizens, and may be putting into jail all citizens who try to discuss ideas banned by the ruling clique. In their schools their teachers orate to children about constitutions and bills of rights, while their police may be arresting men for merely reading the Constitution.

Whenever the State does one good act, such as liberating its slaves or returning an unjust Chinese indemnity, its boasting about this is long and loud. You hardly hear the shrieks of

the 34 children of those slaves who were mobbed and burned alive in this civilized nation since the armistice, nor of their brothers worked to death under the system of renting out convicts. Nor do you hear the gasps of little independent countries like Haiti or Santo Domingo, being strangled by our navy.

"The Men's Club"

So the nations have plenty of red-blooded, masculine arrogance. But in the equally masculine quality of getting together, they are more diffident.



Keystone Photos

THE NIGHTGOWN CULT

Snapshot of the American Fascisti in Action

Yet the getting-together quality is almost as inherent in Man as is his arrogance. Functioning in a childish way, it is an even greater factor in red fez-ism and feathered cockade-ism, if not of night-gown-ism. Anthropologists find among the most primitive tribes, an institution ranking in importance with church and state themselves. It is the "men's club." Our modern ceremonies of initiation trail back to it. It was the Rotary and the Boosters and the Lions' Club and the Koo Koox Klan of its day; and also the Chamber of Commerce.

When, therefore, we undertake in earnest to soften away the arrogance of modern "civilization," we must not neglect the means which we have at hand in this tendency of men to get together. Mankind will have advanced far toward the millennium, when we establish our world upon the feminine principle of compassion, made possible through the masculine genius for co-operation.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

(By the Manager, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors)

THE NEEDLE WORKERS JOIN HANDS

THREE hundred thousand needle workers joining hands, through their accredited officers, to fight their battles together! That is the fine picture furnished by the recent conference of the needle trades unions, which ended its sessions in the Council Room of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Building on September 8.

Out of this meeting has arisen a new Needle Trades Alliance. Five international unions have come together to form the alliance: the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Fur Workers' Union, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, and the Journeymen Tailors' Union.

One of the chief points decided upon by the meeting was the formation of a joint organization department, "to carry out joint organization work in such localities and at such times as conditions may warrant." Thus will the alliance meet the difficult problem of the out-of-town shop, increasing in concern for the needle trades' unions.

In addition, the Alliance will meet annually in conference, its executive council to meet at least once every three months, and the Alliance to have a fraternal delegate at the convention of each of the affiliated internationals. In that way will the various unions be united in their efforts against the employers and for their common good.

The Alliance is a federation, not an amalgamation. All of the organs of the internationals affected hail it as the beginning of a great united fight by the class-conscious workers of the needle trades. Most of them point to the fact that the freedom of the affiliated unions is interfered with in no way. They state with emphasis that industrial unionism is already attained in their respective industries. The effectiveness of the individual international unions is not endangered in any way. It is rather made stronger by this federation with full international union autonomy.

The spirit of the conference was reflected in the nomination of President Morris Sigman of the I. L. G. W. U. as President of the Alliance, and the statement of President Hillman of the Amalgamated at the close of the conference of his pleasure at having Sigman as the Alliance leader. This was particularly significant at a time when the international office of the I. L. G. W. U. is under attack from extremists within that organization.

The Labor Movement of the country will undoubtedly find inspiration in the unity shown by the workers in the clothing trades. Particularly should they gain encouragement from the fact that such unity has been made real and living, and that it has not been used merely as a slogan to force disunion and division. The needle workers are evidently looking for results; not phrases.

FALL IN THE ROCKIES

THE "melancholy days," of which the poet Bryant sung, are here.

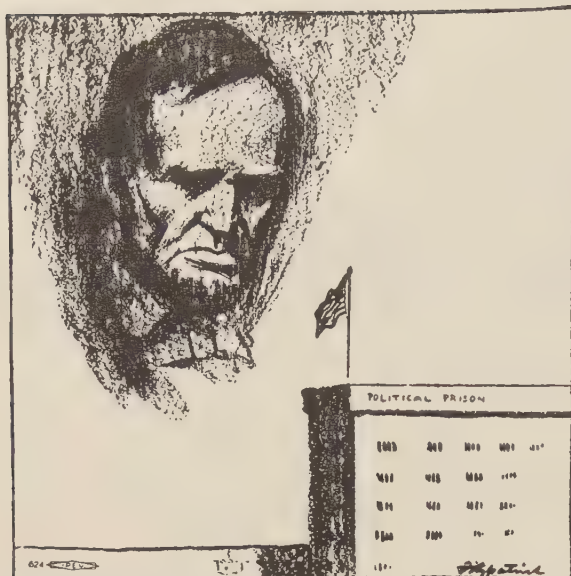
But the sadness of falling leaves and gloomy skies need not depress your spirits. With the fall season comes the chance for those new and big activities which the summer's heat forbids.

The Colorado Federation of Labor, for instance, plans the opening of five or six new labor schools in that state during the next few weeks. Even the summer did not stop them there. A Farmer-Labor summer school was held this year at one of those justly-famous cool spots on the outskirts of Denver. The State Federation, the

Denver Labor College and the Denver Open Forum cooperated to make the school a success.

One hundred "students"—50 farmers and 50 workers—attended. They went over their joint problems. They got better acquainted with current economics. They got better acquainted with each other. Out of the enthusiasm created by these contacts has come the demand for the new schools throughout the State. Dr. George Lackland, the "Father" of the Open Forum, has gone about, preaching the gospel of education for labor unionists and farmers. To him, and to the officers of the State Federation, are due the fine fruits reaped by workers' education in the Rockies.

REMINDERS



St. Louis Post Dispatch

NOT HIS POLICY

PORTLAND'S WORTH-WHILE PLEA

FURTHER West, out on the Pacific, labor education is also thriving.

Portland, Oregon, is one of the pioneers in this field. The local Labor Movement has been fortunate in having the able assistance of E. E. Swartztrauber, of the Teachers' Union. The Portland Labor College, hitherto regarded as an experiment, this year has been placed on a permanent basis by action of the Central Labor Council.

The plan of the Minneapolis unions, for the purchase of scholarships by locals, at a total amount of not more than one cent a member per month, has been endorsed by the central body. LABOR AGE referred to this method of raising funds and securing students in its July issue.

In connection with this campaign, the **Oregon Labor Press**, official organ of the State Federation of Labor, made a fine plea for the labor college. The following extract from its editorial might well run through the whole Labor Press:

"The Labor college is an institution whose benefits do not stop with the individual workers who attend its classes. It is true the students in the classes are the immediate beneficiaries. To date they number only a few hundreds out of some eighteen or twenty thousand trade unionists in the city of Portland, but all trade unionists know that small beginnings have great possibilities. Labor organization has to date brought under its influence only a small percentage of the world's toilers. And yet, only blindness to facts makes anyone question the power of organized effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor to bring about a generally higher level of wages and conditions for all workers in America. The scab says he does not need the union



From Pamphlet on Political Prisoners

THE STORY OF FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA?

but he enjoys union conditions and we damn him for his ignorance and selfishness. By the same analogy, we can point to the shortsightedness of those who would say the Labor college is not of their concern since its benefits are not directly felt. Labor education is a slow and expensive process. But its returns are enormous. The day is coming when those who look upon the Labor college as a useless expense will be considered in the same class with those who now refuse to enter the ranks of organized labor."

What Portland has learned from experience, other union centers will also learn. Clear across the country, on the Atlantic seaboard, the Baltimore workers are opening their "college" this fall. And a graduate of the Brookwood Workers' College is the organizer. So the movement grows.

HEAD HUNTING A L'AMERICA

ON the Island of Formosa (look for it on the map!), the few remaining natives continue the playful pastime of head hunting.

A warrior does not become a full-fledged citizen of his tribe until he has at least one enemy's head to his credit. Shelves of skulls are carefully kept as evidence of the tribe's prowess.

The methods of these crude savages have been vastly improved upon by the head hunters of America. "Division of labor" has been introduced in this business also.

Witness West Virginia. Mr. Coolidge of that state (no, not Calvin, but a brother in thought as well as in name) does not go out himself to slug the leaders of labor. If he did, he might come to grief. But he employs the sheriff of Logan County, and the sheriff's force of that county, to prevent any breath of "organization" within its confines.

The combined coal operators of West Virginia, not content with this, also use Governor, courts and court officials to track down and destroy the men who dare to think of unionizing the miners. The continued effort to have Frank Keeny and Fred Mooney of the United Mine Workers convicted for murder and sedition is but part of this huge effort to make West Virginia another American "Bloody Ground."

This is not fiction, from an overheated imagination. It is testified to by a committee of persons of national reputation, under the chairmanship of Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Professor of Law at Harvard University. The other members of the committee are Professor Herbert A. Miller, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; Father John A. Ryan, Director of the National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, D. C.; Kate Holladay Cleghorn, head of the Research Department of the New York School of Social Work, New York, N. Y.; and Rev. Arthur E. Holt, Social Service Secretary of the Congregational Church, Boston, Mass. Their report, showing the ownership of sheriffs and sheriff's forces by coal companies, has been filed with the United States Coal Commission. Will those gentlemen act on it and take steps to clean up Logan and other cancer spots? You will have to guess again.

The West Virginians are beginning to act for themselves—and not trust to coal commissions. A committee of prominent citizens, including representatives from the Masons, Knights of Pythias and other fraternal organizations, the State Federation of Labor, the legislature and Congress, have formed the "Defenders of West Virginia." These "Defenders" are pledged to secure free speech in Logan and throughout the State. They have established a monthly paper, "The West Virginia Defender," which friends of civil liberty might well subscribe to.

The first issue contains the pictures of "Mother" Lavinia Haberfield, Past Supreme Representative of the Pythias Sisters, and the comely Mrs. Ed Chambers, widow of the man killed by the company gunmen at Welch, West Virginia. What have the Pythian Sisters to do with the situation? Very much indeed, and all the fraternal organizations. For the coal barons have decreed that they too, shall not enter Logan; for fear the word "organization" would come to have a happy meaning there, and lead the way to unionism.

If you want to take a crack at our American head hunters, lend a helping hand to the West Virginia Defenders, to the extent at least of subscribing for their publication. Their address is P. O. Box 177, Charleston, W. Va.

UNION BUYS HERRIN MINE

COAL AGE, organ of the mining interests, is concerned about the purchase of the mine at Herrin, Ill., by District 12 of the United Mine Workers.

The magazine is disturbed over the question, "What is the Miners' Union going to do with the

mine now that it has bought it?" The answer is a simple one, and **Coal Age** lets it slip out itself. "The miners' organization will get possession on August 20th," it announces in the issue of August 9, "and indications are that the mine will run as usual, with the profits going into the treasury of the United Mine Workers."

Thus is another nail driven into the coffin of the individual ownership of the mines. The miners' cooperative at Leighton, Pa., has already successfully demonstrated what a group can do in cooperative production. The Hungarian miners in West Virginia have also run their own mine with apparently good results. The purchase of mines by unions is a bigger blow to the idea of private ownership of the fuel supply than any other step could be. There is not even the remnant of private property that exists in the Rochdale plan of 1 man 1 vote, but with individual ownership of stock.

The mine purchased at Herrin is the Lester strip mine, at which the battle of a year ago took place. The union has eliminated its bitter enemies by buying them out. The cost was \$726,000, the entire capital stock being bought outright.

Labor unions throughout the country will watch the Herrin operation with interest. A mine is one of the easiest means of production for unions to operate successfully. It is not as intricate as the average shop or factory.

A SAMPLE OF STEEL WORKERS' PUBLICITY



"With a grand flourish, the Steel Boss presents him with the Eight-hour Day. At the same time taking \$4.80 out of his weekly pay envelope."—Executive Council of National and International Organizations in the Steel Industry.

A K. O. FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT has been a scourge of the men's clothing industry ever since that industry began. It will be so no more, at least among the workers in Chicago.

Unemployment Insurance, created by joint action of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and their employers, will protect the workers in the future. The contract, providing for the introduction of this plan, was signed by the union and the employers in the latter part of September.

It marks another one of the high adventures of Labor in placing Industry on a sound and human basis. Its many interesting and constructive features, as President Sidney Hillman states in writing to us, may well be studied by other unions and groups of employers. It is based upon the two principles laid down by Dr. Leo Wolman in his studies for the Amalgamated—first, that unemployment is beyond the control of the workers and is due to defects in management and control of industry, which make its cost chargeable to the industry itself; and second, that the cost of unemployment must be met from a fund, established and supported by the industry, so that the burden may be "sufficiently felt" by those who must take steps to reduce it.

Under the contract just signed, a Fund is created (to which reference was made in the June LABOR AGE). To this fund the workers will contribute half, and the employers half. The contribution in each case is limited to 1½ per cent of the wage bill. Every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Chicago—35,000 of them—will come under this contract and receive its benefits. They will be paid \$20 per week for each week of unemployment, during no more than 5 weeks of the insurance year.

The management of the Fund is placed in the hands of a Board of Trustees, seven in number. Three of them are to be appointed by the union, three by the manufacturers and the third—the Chairman—is to be Dr. John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin. The chairman's place, in case of death or resignation, is to be filled by joint action of the manufacturers and union. In case they cannot agree, the choice of the new chairman is left in the hands of Judge Julian Mack or Judge Samuel Alschuler. The chairman is the only member of the Board to receive compensation for his services, and he is to be paid out of the Fund.

Although the final contract is only now in effect, payments into the fund began May 1 of this year. That is the date of the regular wage agreements between the employers and the union. Benefits will not be paid until January 1 of next year and will only run until May 1, 1924. Then, the agreement will be embodied again in the yearly wage contract, and thus become permanent.

The sting of unemployment is taken away by an arrangement of this kind. Not only are the men protected, but the manufacturers are given an incentive to study the cure of unemployment itself. The Clothing Workers can well congratulate themselves on this new plan. It looks like a knockout for Unemployment.

THE NEW YORK LEADER

ON OCTOBER FIRST "we will have with us" a new daily labor newspaper. It will succeed an old daily labor newspaper. On that day the New York Call becomes the New York Leader. It will be an evening paper instead of a morning journal.

Three hundred thousand workers are the owners of this new venture—not a millionaire. Thus its advertisements inform us. And these advertisements happen to tell the truth. The progressive international and local unions of New York have taken over the Call and transformed it. They have been able to do this with the assistance of the American Fund for Public Service, which has offered to give to each union as much stock again as each subscribes for.

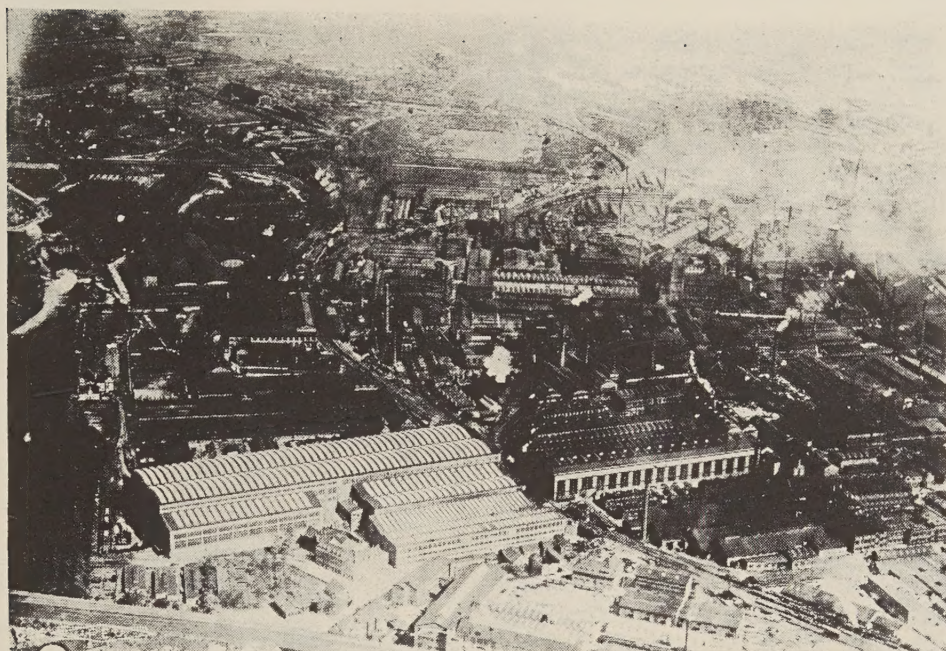
Norman Thomas becomes the Editor, Heber Blankenhorn the Managing Editor, and Evans Clark the Business Manager. It is a personnel which assures the highest type of newspaper work. Equal confidence can be placed in the lieutenants which these executives have chosen to cooperate with them. For example, H. G. Gaston, former Managing Editor of the Minnesota Daily Star, becomes the city editor. In the circulation and advertising departments expert newspaper men have been employed to carry on.

It is particularly gratifying to note that the points which LABOR AGE has been emphasizing as the mark of a real labor daily are being adopted as the program of the new paper. It is to be non-dogmatic. It is to carry news in its news columns and not editorials. It is to be brisk (and it is to be hoped, brief) in its editorial matter. It is to take advantage of all the legitimate practices of modern journalism. Already it has linked workers' education and labor banks with its own reasons for existence. That will probably mean that it will pay great heed to the new things which Labor is adopting in the further encroachment on spheres hitherto thought not to belong to Labor.

The new paper has many shoals before it. The job of making it go is not an easy one. But if it keeps as its compass the things it has outlined for itself, it has all the reasons in the world for success. It must be non-dogmatic. Liberalism is dead—killed by Woodrow Wilson, "the Last of the Liberals." But the one good thing about Liberalism—its fear of dogma—is worth preserving in the ranks of the rising Labor Movement.

In Europe

THE FORMER
GERMAN
"CANNON
FACTORY"



Keystone Photos

Krupp Works
at Essen—
Now in Hands
of the French

"IN DUTCH"

DEUTSCHLAND'S troubles increase with every hour.

The mark goes dancing down and up, and finally decides to settle lower and lower. To the starved German workingman, it is a real dance of death.

Victor Berger, our lone Socialist Congressman, comes back from Europe to tell us that the German situation needs immediate attention. Another distinguished American, returning home, predicts a new revolution before the end of Winter.

Of course, that was predicted last year; but conditions have become much worse since then. The Germans are a constructive people, and it takes a great deal to push them Russia-ward. A certain M. Poincaré of France, spitting defiance, is doing his best to send them in that direction. Norman Hapgood says in *Hearst's International*, that the real red menace is today in Paris and not Moscow.

Little wonder that there have been bread riots and other demonstrations throughout stricken Germany. Little wonder that fighting has occurred all through the provinces. Little wonder that Premier Stanley Baldwin of Great Britain has begun to draw away from France, whose policy spells English ruin. France, bent on capturing Germany's coal and steel, can go for years on her own resources. England needs peace after a short while; otherwise, her trade will perish and she will perish with it.

But Baldwin still hesitates, because his sympathies and those of his followers are with France. E. D. Morel, of the British Labor Party,

thus tells the story of the bankruptcy of England's recent policy, which Baldwin is trying hard to continue:

"The horrible feature of the last four years has been on the one hand the steady march of the British and French nations towards rupture amid hypocritical pretences of everlasting friendship from their Governments, whose spokesmen spoke with their tongues in their cheeks, coupled with the ignorant anti-Germanism of the Tory 'Die-hards' and their fatuous money-making Press; and, on the other, the absence of any public expression of sympathy or generosity with the German people, and moral protest whatsoever by leading politicians, or by the churches, for the treatment meted out to them."

"And now," he adds, "we are up against the operation of the natural law of retribution"—which means that England is getting "in Dutch," too. A merchant nation cannot thrive with all her customers in trouble.

DOCKERS AND AN "ACID TEST"

FURTHER dilemmas are on tap in Premier Baldwin's own home land.

What to do with the coming winter's unemployment will furnish the "acid test" for the new Premier, declares the *London Daily Herald*. A committee of Big Business representatives of the Premier's own party have recommended that the electrification of railways be taken up and canals developed. These public projects would give employment to great numbers of the out-of-works.

The first part of the proposal is the same as that put forward by the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress for years past. It is not so far sweeping, however, for Labor had also suggested

revamping the railroads on a big scale, together with a complete reorganization of the supplies of electric power.

But the Government, in the face of this demand from Labor and Big Business, has continued to do the ostrich act. Which meaneth, it has merely whistled to keep up courage.

Whistling is not likely to satisfy Britain's workers. Members of the Transport Workers' Union suffered a cut in June of 1 shilling a day, as a result of a sliding scale agreement which holds good until the end of this year. The dockers in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, Bristol and Cardiff refused to respect the agreement. They struck—for seven weeks, against the advice of their union officials. In the strike a new union was born, the Amalgamated Port Workers.

Thereby was confirmation seemingly given to the charges of the regular union officers that the strike was merely a secessionist movement, led by the stevedores. The **Labour Magazine**, organ of the Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress, terms the strike a result of "sectionalism," which gives "the capitalist enemy the foothold which he could never make for himself." And it adds:

"The Transport and General Workers' Union, to which the great majority of the dockers belong, made itself one of the strongest organizations in the history of Trade Unionism by a series of amalgamations conducted with consistent regard to that need for unity which the action of some of its members now tends to condemn. The moral is obvious."

So evidently thought the striking dockers. After 7 weeks they returned to work. But they showed that the temper of the British workers is not a pacific one.

THE CASTOR OIL CAESAR ON THE JOB

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI is in dead earnest. He is not merely resurrecting old scores with the Greeks, some 2,000 years old. He is justifying all the hopes and prophecies of our own Apostle of the 12-Hour Day.

Italy is to become a "real capitalist country—just like England, France and America." No more will the descendants of the Caesars have to hark back to the days of craftsmanship and the guilds, for stories of their glory. They have now gone in for exploitation of themselves on a big scale by Big Business.

Firstly, the mighty Mussolini abolishes the state monopoly of life insurance. Private insurance companies are now invited to get busy. The National Insurance Institute is not killed outright. Its policies are to be guaranteed by the Government, as before, and it is to serve as a regulatory commission over the private companies. Its employees are not to be ranked as civil servants; but are to be employed on the same basis as workers for private institutions.

Also, the railways and telephones are to be



Milwaukee Leader

I. P. E. U. 624

AGITATING THE BOOT
Signor Mussolini and Italian Labor

ceded to private corporations. The grant of the telephones must be for at least 25 years. The state reserves the right to buy the lines back—some day! American experiences with "re-captured lines" shows when that day will come. Never—unless there is a big, expensive fight. On the railways the State will share in the profits, after 7 per cent has been given the shareholders.

In Sicily Mussolini has begun the job—by turning two railway lines over to private industry. Watch Capitalist and Imperialist Italy spread its wings. Watch its later fall. For the present, the castor oil has not been spilt in vain.

WHY OCTOBER?

BECAUSE of the Manager's trip West to get original information on Wisconsin and the Farmer-Labor Movement, the September issue did not appear.

The **LABOR AGE** staff is so small at present that it is impossible for us to secure the information we must have to serve you properly, without an occasional slight change in schedule of this sort. We might slap together an issue in haphazard fashion. But we prefer to give you our best effort—with your subscription extended to cover another month. That insures you getting your 12 copies for your year's subscription, making you the gainer in every way.

That we are keeping up to the high standard that we have set in contents and makeup is evidenced by the many letters of commendation which we receive, such as that of H. G. Teigan, mentioned on the back cover page. As a further example, Brother C. S. Winget of Niles, Mich., writes that in his opinion **LABOR AGE** "excels all labor periodicals."

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

IRISH AND ENGLISH LABOR

American labor unions will be well repaid to add W. P. Ryan's "The Irish Labor Movement" to their libraries. It is not, as might be expected, a Sinn Féin's bitter indictment of England. It is a pleasant surprise, on the other hand, to find its tone singularly free from animosity of any kind. It contains the long and exceedingly instructive history of a labor movement in Ireland, which in its time anticipated some of the features which we think of as most modern. B. W. Huebsch is the publisher.

Conditions across the sea are also dwelt upon in a beautifully written essay, issued by the Labour Publication Company of London. Its title is "England—a National Policy for Labour," and its author is Harry Roberts. The book is introduced by a foreword by J. R. Clynes, labor leader in Parliament.

GERMANY AND MEXICO

GERMANY'S troubles are still breaking into print in all sorts of ways. In his "Ashes of Victory," Stewart E. Bruce rehashes the issues of the last war, in defence of Germany. The book is published by H. F. Searl Co., New York, 1922.

A book which will appeal more than the one above, to most readers, is "Germany in Travail," by Otto Mantley Zorn, professor of German in Amherst College. (Marshall Jones Co., Boston, 1922.) It is one of the "Amherst books." Prof. Mantley says that the Central Powers are repentant, in this sense, that they have turned against those ideas and men that ruled them in the days before the war. The Austrians, he says interestingly, are determined, out of the despair of today, to at least save their art.

Mexico is another foreign country deeply interesting to Americans, at the present time in particular when its new Government has just been recognized. Dr. E. J. Dillon's book, "President Obregon—A World Reformer." (Small, Maynard & Co., 1923) is considered in Mexico itself to be too laudatory of the President. "Dr. Dillon," many Mexicans say, "has made our president too sugary sweet. Obregon is not like that. He is a real man." One thing at least can be said, and that is that the book is a well deserved tribute to a great man. The introductory pages of the book strike one as unpleasantly bombastic. But later on the author settles down to give, in easy and interesting style, the history of the life and policies of his hero. This he was well equipped to do, for he lived and traveled with Obregon for a long time and all over Mexico.

PROPERTY AND TAXES

"PROPERTY—Its Duties and Rights," is a compilation on this subject by several learned English scholars and divines. The first essay is by Professor L. T. Hobhouse of the University of London, who draws the illuminating distinction between property

for use and property for power. The philosophical and historical aspects of the question are those chiefly discussed, and we are surprised to find that the conservative stand taken by the church and some philosophers in modern times is by no means what was the attitude of ancient moralists or church fathers, or of pre-puritan divines. Though scholarly, these essays are by no means hard reading, and they are good stuff to show to some of your conservative friends.

Another book on an economic question which is worth reading is J. S. Codman's "Unemployment and Our Revenue Problem" (B. W. Huebsch, Inc. \$1.00). He shows how absurd it is that men ready to work are unable to do so because they are prevented from access to land and tools, which are lying idle. He amusingly tells us how it might be if Defoe had written his story of Robinson Crusoe today. Crusoe would at once, on landing on his island, be worried to find himself a landlord. Later on, he would himself become landlord of the island, and by right of that fact, would, without doing any useful work himself, be able to levy tribute on anyone else who landed on the island. Examples are given to show how cities have taxed all their citizens to improve districts or avenues, with the result that benefit has been reaped by the few landlords whose property abutted thereon rather than to all the taxpayers. At the end of the book, it is stated that there is just one practical way of making Germany pay the war debt to the allies—and that is, for the allies to impose on her the tax on land alone, and to benefit by the rent which is otherwise going to idle landlords.

CLASSICS IN MINIATURE

A WORD must be said in praise of the splendid series of little ten-cent classics which the Haldeman-Julius Co., of Girard, Kansas, is publishing. They are small enough to stick into a vest pocket, and each one contains some choice bit of philosophy or fiction. After reading a few of them, one almost must resolve never to be without one or more close at hand, either in order to utilize a spare moment of one's own, or as a choice gem to present to a friend to whom humor or beauty may appeal when blunt argument on some question has failed.

While on the subject of classics, is there room here for just a word of appreciation for that old but standard and beautiful work, Frazer's "Golden Bough?" Every student of anthropology is ordered by his professor to begin upon it, even as the student of biology is generally set to reading Herbert Spencer. And indeed, its interesting chapters on the thought life, of primitive and barbarous mankind, are a most effective antidote to such as take too frantically the Marxian theory that there is nothing at all in life but economic needs. Some times to take time away from reading the latest but not always the deepest books, to turn to one like this, is wonderfully stimulative and salutary. The "Golden Bough" has just been issued in a cheaper and briefer form by the Macmillan Company.

THE VALUE OF A DIGEST

EVERY month brings new evidence of the value of LABOR AGE as a digest of the Labor Movement.

H. G. Teigan, secretary to the new Farmer-Labor Senator, Magnus Johnson, writes—after reading the August issue—that we have a remarkable publication, which is constantly improving in contents and make-up.

American Labor is rapidly turning to new efforts of all sorts in its moves against the anti-union forces and for further control of industry. A publication which can discuss these measures and steps forward, without any dogmatic slant, except the desire to see Labor push ahead, is doing a big constructive job. It is helping Labor move forward, without tearing it to pieces by dogmatic discussions.

LABOR AGE was the first publication to: Discuss in detail the organization of the steel workers and the abolition of the 12-Hour Day in 1923; Call attention to the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Movement; Point out the necessity of one organization in the textile industry; Follow month by month the labor banking, workers' education, and cooperative movements in relation to the Labor Movement as a whole.

NEXT MONTH MARKS LABOR AGE'S SECOND ANNIVERSARY

It will be the occasion for the announcement of further features, and sources of information for and about American Labor. Look for the November number.

Get the Story of All Sections of the Movement, Month by Month.

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